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NANIBOZHU AMONGST THE OTCHIPWE, MISSIS-SAGAS, AND OTHER ALGONKIAN TRIBES.¹

WIDE-SPREAD amongst western Algonkian peoples are the stories of the deeds and exploits of a hero-god, who figures in their creation and deluge-legends, who taught them many of the arts and inventions, and who sometimes deceived, as well as helped them. Among the Otchipwē he is known as Nánībōzhū or Nánabozhu; the Nipissings of Oka know him as Wisakedjak, also as Nenabojo; with the Mississagas he is Nánībōzhū or Wánībōzhū; among the Crees he is styled Wisakketchak, and the Santeux Otchipwē call him Nenâboj, or Nanabush; the Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan know him as Ne-naw-bo-zhov, the Menominees as Manabozho or Manabūsh.

He has close analogies with the Napiù of the Blackfeet of the far western Algonkian region and with the Gluskap of the Micmacs on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

The meanings of the various names by which he is known are uncertain. Dr. D. G. Brinton in his interesting and thoughtful essay, "The Hero-God of the Algonkins as a Cheat and a Liar," has ventured the opinion that Nanibozhu and Wisakketchak, as well as the Micmac Gluskap, contain within them an indication of the deceitful character of the personage to whom they are applied. Mr. Blackbird states that "the meaning of this word [Ne-naw-bo-zhoo] in the

- ¹ A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society, November 28, 1890.
 - ² See authorities cited below.
 - 8 Cuoq, Lexique de la langue Algonquine (1886), p. 268, pp. 442, 443.
 - 4 Journal of American Folk-Lore, iii. 150.
 - ⁵ Lacombe, Dict. de la langue des Cris (1874), p. 653.
- ⁶ A. G. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, 1887), p. 72.
 - 7 Dr. W. J. Hoffman in American Anthropologist, vol. iii. (1890), p. 247.
 - ⁸ Essays of an Americanist (1890), pp. 130–134.

Algonquin language is 'a clown.'" Father Cuoq, while recognizing in both these words "la physionomie parfaitement algonquine," considers them as compound words, the etymology of which he confesses himself unable to discover. He notes the fact that among the Christianized Indians, Wisakedjak and Nenabojo are "à peu près synonyme de singe, dans le sens figuré de ce mot. On dira de quelqu'un qui imite ce qu'il voit faire! c'est un wisakedjak." 2 Captain Back says: "Notwithstanding the power that Wœsack-oot-chacht here displayed, his person is held in very little reverence by the Indians, and in return he seizes every opportunity of tormenting them." 3 Lacombe says that to Wisakketchak the Northern tribes "attribuent une puissance surnaturelle, avec un grand nombre de ruses, de tours, et de folies." 4 The idea of "clown," "deceiver," "tormentor," may be contained in these words, but nothing is certain regarding the derivation. It is matter of regret that the Nanibozhu tales have not all come down to us or been recorded in the language of the Indian narrator himself. Had we the ipsissima verba in the various Algonkian dialects, it is reasonable to suppose that much that is archaic and ancient in speech would be forthcoming. We cannot be certain that folk-etymology has not been at work; perhaps the primitive significations of the names Nanibozhu and Wesakedjak have been lost in the form which they may have assumed since the conception of their character as deceitful and clownish has arisen.

The achievements of the hero-god Nanibozhu were many; I shall enumerate here the principal ones known to the Otchipwē and Mississagas: 5—

How he saved himself on a raft when the whole world was covered by the waters of the deluge; how he got the muskrat to dive and bring up a little mud in his claw, which, when placed on the raft, increased in size and formed a new earth. How he hunted the Great Beaver around Lake Superior and broke open the great beaver-dam at the foot of that lake. How he transformed himself into a swan, but, disregarding an injunction, fell down while flying with real swans. How he deceived the water-fowls in his dancing wigwam, but was exposed by the "diver."

Many of his exploits are located in the neighborhood of Lake Super, the Otchipwē Kitchīgấming or "Big Water of the Otchipwē." A depression in a rock on the southeast shore of Michipicotea Bay

¹ Ор. cit. p. 73.

⁸ Voyages and Travels of Capts. Beechey and Back, R. N., London, 1836, p. 562.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 653. Wisakketjakow ("c'est un fourbe, un trompeur"), which Lacombe gives, seems a recent derivative from Wisakketjak.

⁵ From information furnished the writer by the Rev. Allan Salt, a Mississaga. See the Menomoni article by Dr. Hoffman.

marks where he rested after jumping across that body of water. On the north shore of the Lake, eastward from Thunder-bay Point, is Nanibozhu's grave. It is a mountain some three miles long, and, when seen from the water at a distance has the appearance of a man lying upon his back. When the Indian passes this spot he makes a sacrifice to the god by dropping a little tobacco into the water. To a mountain overhanging the waters of Lake Superior, and to a point of land close by, Nanibozhu's name has been given. Near the latter is a large impression resembling that left when a man sits down in the snow. In the long ago, the Indians say, Nanibozhu sat upon that stone and smoked his pipe before he left for his kingdom in the west. Whenever the Indians pass by that way they drop some tobacco upon the stone "so that Nanibozhu may smoke in his kingdom in the west."

The Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan have other legends of the hero-god. They tell how he spoiled maple sap by diluting it so that the Indians might have to labor hard in order to make sugar from it,² a legend also related of Manabush by the Menominees.³ How, by driving his staff into the heart of every tree, he made them cease to furnish fat and oil as they had formerly done.⁴ The great rocks of flint on the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay, near Antrim City, Michigan, are the corpse of the stone-monster (his brother) whom Ne-naw-bo-zhoo there slew.⁵ On a smooth rock on the shores of the Ottawa River there are the prints of human footsteps, and, near by, a round hole "about the shape and size of a kettle." These the Ottawas and Chippewas believe to be the track of Ne-naw-bo-zhoo and the kettle which he dropped while pursuing his brother. Into these holes bits of tobacco are dropped as luck offerings for a successful journey, etc.⁶

It is around the roaring camp-fire, when winter's winds howl, and the snow flies thick and fast, that the Indians love to tell these tales their fathers told them; for did they relate them in summer, frogs and other disagreeable things would enter into the camp. While they are being told some of the listeners laugh, whereupon the narrator stops in his story to say, "Nanibozhu is also smiling and pleased because his great exploits are admired." No doubt each narrator tells the story in his own way, omits some points that seem to him of little value or interest, and by and by inserts into the

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of Rev. Peter Jacobs [a Mississaga], Boston (1853), p. 16.
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² Blackbird, op. cit. p. 72.

⁸ Amer. Anthropologist, vol. iv. p. 41.

⁴ Blackbird, op. cit. p. 72.

⁵ Ibid. p. 74. Compare Emerson, Indian Myths, p. 343.

⁶ Ibid. p. 74.

⁷ Information from Rev. Allan Salt in January, 1889.

legend incidents which do not occur in its archaic form. Then he may deem it necessary to give a local coloring to the tale, and may be willing even to point out the exact spots where the events narrated took place. It is only by possessing accurate accounts of these myths from different sources and in different dialects, that we shall be able to determine with reasonable accuracy what the oldest form of each particular legend actually was. Unfortunately most of them have been recorded in English or French only, and not in the native tongue of the Indian narrators. The writer has endeavored to obtain a complete text of the Nanibozhu legend in Otchipwē and Mississaga, but so far has not been successful; he did, however, get the text of a considerable portion of it: "How Nanibozhu deceived the water-fowls" and his adventures after that. The story, however, stops just before the Deluge episode occurs; the writer hopes to publish it in Indian and English before very long.

The great Algonkian deluge-story appears to have its analogues in the legends of the Athapascans, the Siouans, the Iroquois, the Cherokees, besides various tribes of British Columbia and California.² The object of this paper is chiefly to discuss this myth as we find it recorded of the various tribes of Algonkian stock. Certain scholars have held that the Cree is the most archaic of all Algonkian dialects, and it has been maintained that the primitive home of the whole stock was "north of the St. Lawrence and east of Lake Ontario." It is well to keep these theories in mind while we are considering the different versions of the same great legend.

Over the signature "Pe-ah-be-wash," a nom de plume of Prof. Ellis of the University of Toronto, there appeared in the "Varsity," in 1888, "The Story of Nana-bo-zhoo and his brother," as related by an Otchipwē named Ozhawashkogezhik. This very important and detailed legend may be résuméd as follows: Long ago there lived an old man named Nana-bo-zhoo in a big wigwam with his brother, who was a great hunter, and those animals he did not shoot with his bow he ran down and killed with his club. The animals, in great fear, held a council to consider the means of preventing N.'s brother from killing them all. The white deer, who was able to outrun all the rest, was chosen to decoy him out on the ice of a lake, so that when the "sea-lion" made a loud noise the ice would break and the hunter

¹ This myth corresponds remarkably with the legend of "Ictinike and the Turkeys," a Siouan myth recorded by Rev. J. Owen Dorsey (Amer. Antiquarian, November, 1886). It is evidently the same as the story "How Lox deceived the Ducks" (Algonq. Leg. of New Engl. pp. 186, 187). C. P. Emerson, Indian Myths, p. 344.

² See Dr. F. Boas, in Journal of American Folk-Lore, iv. (1891), 15.

⁸ The Varsity, Toronto, vol. ix. No. 7, December 22, 1888, pp. 55-57. With this compare the myth recorded in Emerson, *Indian Myths*, pp. 246, 247.

be drowned. One day N. being out for a walk saw the white deer, came back and asked his brother to get the animal for him and to be sure to run him down and club him, so as not to spoil his skin, for N. was a skillful dresser of furs and skins. So the brother set out and ran after the deer all day without reaching him. About sunset they came to a lake and the deer ran out upon the ice. When they got near the middle of the lake the hunter seemed to be gaining upon the deer, who appeared to be somewhat tired; he was just raising his arm to strike him down, when there was a loud noise, the ice cracked and the hunter sank to the bottom, while the animal escaped.

N., finding that his brother did not return, was somewhat anxious when nightfall came on, but supposed his brother had wandered a long way and would be back next day. Three days passed and the hunter did not return. Then N. took his brother's bow and arrows and followed his tracks to the lake, but when he got there a snow-storm covered them up. In the spring the ice melted and N. could not find the tracks. One day, however, he saw the kingfisher seated on a tree looking into the water. By telling the bird that he would paint its feathers and give it pretty colors, N. induced it to say that it was watching the "sea-lions" playing with N.'s brother. N. again bribes the bird, by promising to give it a tuft of feathers on its head, to tell him how to get his brother away from the "sea-lions."

So N. walked along the lake shore until he came to a nice sandy beach. The day was calm and as he looked at the water he saw it N. changed himself into an old tree-stump and waited begin to boil. to see how things would turn out. Very soon the "sea-lions" came out and began to sport about on the beach. By and by one of them noticed the stump and said it must be N., for it had not been there before. The "sea-lions" discussed the matter for some time; at last the one who had first seen the stump suggested that they should try to pull it up, which they could not do if it were a real stump. So they tugged away, and N. had to exert all his power and magic to prevent his being pulled up. The "sea-lions" then gave up the attempt, and, lying down in the sun, were soon fast asleep. N. then changed himself into a man and shot the biggest "white sea-lion," who made a great noise, whereupon they disappeared beneath the waters of the lake.

N. then walked along the lake shore and soon met a big toad with a club in his hand and a bag thrown over his shoulder. The toad was singing, and, when N. spoke to him, said that he was going to cure the white "sea-lion" that had been wounded by N. Then N. killed the toad, took up the club and bag, and changing himself into a toad, went along singing. Going into the lake he dived down and walked along the bottom until he came to a door through which he

saw the "sea-lions" sporting about. He went in singing, and when asked what he wanted, said that he had come to cure their chief who had been wounded by N.

As the door opened he saw his brother hanging across the doorway. When all the "sea-lions" came into the room, N. told them that he could do nothing unless he were left alone. When they had gone he killed the "sea-lion" and, taking down his brother, made for the shore with him. The "sea-lions" chased him, and when they got to the edge of the lake they made the waters rise and follow N. and his brother, who kept running farther inland, pursued by the "sea-lions" and the waters, and accompanied by all the birds and beasts.

At length they reached the summit of the highest mountain, closely followed by the waters. N. then built a raft and got on it with his brother and all the animals, and when the waters covered the mountain the raft floated away. After some time N. called to him the best divers to see which of them could find bottom. After the beaver, the otter, and the loon had gone down, and after a long time risen up to the surface dead (Nanabozhoo breathed life into them again), the muskrat tried, and after a very long time came up dead. But N., upon examining him, found that his fore-paws were clasped together, and in them he discovered a little bit of mud. Then N. made him alive again, petted and praised him, but would not let him go down again as he desired to do. Taking the little bit of mud, N. rolled it between his hands until it was very fine and then threw it in the air, when it spread out over the water and covered it. Then with his fingers he drew upon it the lakes, rivers, islands, mountains, hills, etc., and the world was made.

This version of the Nanibozhu Deluge-legend comes from the Otchipwēs of Ontario, and by reason of its wealth of detail I have chosen it as a standard wherewith to compare the other versions. It will be observed that here the occupation of Nanibozhu (a dresser of furs) and his brother (a hunter), the indirect and direct causes of the flood, the means of escape, the names of the animals who dived in search of earth, the method of forming the new land, and the way in which its physical features were produced, are all plainly indicated.

The Rev. E. F. Wilson 1 has recorded the tradition of the Flood as related by Chief Buhkwujjenene, an Otchipwē of Sault Ste. Marie, on the north shore of Lake Huron. The outline is as follows:—

- I. Nanabozhoo's son (beloved by his father) is forbidden to go near the water.
- ¹ Missionary Work among the Ojebway Indians (London, 1886), pp. 107, 108. The same legend appears in the Algoma Missionary News and Shingwak Journal for 1879.

- 2. Disobeys him, goes out in a canoe and is heard of no more.
- 3. N. vows vengeance on the "gods of the water," who have destroyed his son, and sets out to seek them.
- 4. The loon offers to show N. where the two water-gods are sleeping on the shore.
- 5. N. follows the loon until he finds them, and kills them with his tomahawk and war-club.
- 6. When the gods are dead, the waters of the lake rise up to avenge them, and follow N. to the dry land, so that he has to run for his life.
- 7. N. flees to the highest mountain and climbs to the top of the highest pine-tree on it. The waters continue to rise.
- 8. N. breaks off some of the highest branches and builds a raft on which he gets, together with some of the animals, who are struggling in the waters.
- 9. N. thinks of making a new world; it is necessary to have a little piece of the old.
- 10. Selects the beaver from all the animals, to dive after some earth. The beaver tries and comes up dead.
 - 11. The otter is sent next, and meets the same fate.
- 12. Then the muskrat tries and comes up dead, but in the clenched paws is a little earth.
- 13. N. takes the earth carefully, rubs it in his fingers until it is dry, places it in the palm of his hand and blows gently over the surface of the water.
- 14. On the new world thus formed N. and the animals disembark
- 15. N. sends out a wolf to see how big the world was. He remains away a month. He is sent out again and is absent a year.
- 16. N. then sends out a very young wolf who dies of old age before he can get back. [Compare Emerson, "Indian Myths," p. 121; and Ottawa Legend.]
 - 17. N. says the world is big enough and can now stop growing.

The differences between this and the previous legend are very curious. Here Nanibozhu seeks to avenge his son, whose misfortune is caused by disobedience; there are but two "gods of the water;" the loon acts as guide to N.; the details of the finding are omitted; the two monsters are killed; the incident of the tallest pine-tree is introduced; the means whereby the raft is constructed are indicated; some only of the animals are saved; N. blows the dry earth out over the waters; the incident of the wolf sent out to find the size of the earth is mentioned, while the origin of the physical features is not referred to.

From the "tribe of Ojibbewa Indians dwelling on the North Shore

and at French Bay," the Rev. J. J. Hindley, M. A., 1 has published in verse two legends of "Nanabush." The first tells how Nanabush was seized with a desire to leave the spirit-land. With his brother Chee-by-yah-booz he enters the womb of a fair and noble maiden, the only daughter of an aged man. The relatives of the maiden, upon discovering her condition, drive her from home, and she dies after giving birth to the twins. N., the greater of the two, soon becomes a wise man, able to talk with the birds and beasts, and even with the earth. He loves his brother dearly and warns him especially to beware of the ice-covered lake, where dwells their common foe, the "white-lion" (wah-bi-mee-zhee-be-zhee). One day, however, C. rashly ventures upon the lake, and is seized, dragged, and killed by the "white-lion." Finding that his brother does not return, N. goes into the forest and questions the beasts and birds, but to no purpose. Then sitting down in his wigwam he laments aloud, and all nature sympathizes with him: spirits, men, and animals implore the Great Spirit to save them from the earthquakes and cataclysms caused by the grief of N., to whose sorrow earth reacts. The Great Spirit then bids C. go to his brother, who receives him with a glad song, but after giving him a coal of fire and a hunting-knife, bids him seek the Better Land in the land of sunset, to wait there until he himself shall come.² C. goes, and N. soon afterwards is seized with contrition and begs the Great Spirit to restore his brother again to him. This request is refused and N. gives way again to grief, and nature responds as before, so that men, beasts, and birds are forced to invoke the Great Spirit a second time. The Great Spirit declines to restore C., but sends the bear (muk-qwah) to invite N. to come to heaven (ish-pe-ming), but the latter, absorbed in his grief, takes no notice of the messenger. Other animals are sent, but to no purpose. At last the white otter (wa-bi nee-gik) pleads long and earnestly, and finally N. rises and follows in the otter's tracks. N. reaches the happy hunting-grounds and is cordially welcomed by the Great Spirit, and becomes a changed being. After dwelling there for some time, he returns to the earth, where he instructs the Red Men in the arts of war and peace, in religious rites, and in "medicine," bringing down with him the "medicine-bag" (pun-je-goos-im) and the great knowledge imparted to him by the Great Spirit, so that the Otchipwe might after death attain the Spirit Land. Busied with these things he lives on, but ever and anon he thinks of C., his lost brother. Tak-

¹ Indian Legends. Nanabush, the Ojibbeway Saviour. Moosh-kuh-ung or the Flood. Barrie [Ontario], 1885, pp. 22. Compare Emerson, Indian Myths (1884), pp. 246, 247.

² It would appear that from this time onward death made his presence felt among the Ojibbewa.

ing compassion upon him, the Great Spirit sends him the eagle (mege-ze) "to bear him to and fro upon the earth."

The legend entitled "The Deluge" (Moosh-ku-ung), may be given in brief as follows:—

- I. One day Nanabush, walking along the shore of the enchanted lake, sees something tossing about on the waves.
- 2. He asks the kingfisher (kish-ke-mah-ze) to tell him what it is, but the hungry bird declines to stop to talk. N. then promises to paint its breast in brilliant colors and to give it a tuft of feathers on its head, whereupon the bird tells him that it is a part of his brother the hunter, who has been killed by the "white-lion," and also informs him that the "lions" are accustomed to disport themselves in the sun on a certain beach.
- 3. After redeeming his promise to the bird, N. sets out, after arranging his bow and arrows and selecting the best shaft. Arriving at the place indicated, he changes himself into a branchless tree upon the shore.
 - 4. Two loons pass screaming by, with signs of fear.
- 5. The waters begin to boil and beat, and beasts and serpents come forth, among them the "white lion" and his cousin the "yellow lion" (oo-ga-wush-kwa mee-ghe-be-zhee). They all see the stump, and, suspicious of evil, cry out, "It must be N., our foe."
- 6. The great serpent hastens to the tree, coils himself round it and tries to crush it, but in vain, for N, has the aid of the Great Spirit.
- 7. The great bear (*ke-che-mah-quah*), still suspicious, hugs the tree fiercely, and tests it with tooth and claw, but gives it up after some time, declaring that it is a real tree, in which opinion the rest concur.
- 8. After they have disported themselves until tired they all lie down to sleep, leaving the chipmunk (kwin-gwis) to act as sentry.
- 9. N. assumes his natural form and creeps up towards his foe, but is seen by the watchful chipmunk, who chatters loudly. N., however, bribes him to help him in deceiving his foes. So, when the otter, awakened by the chattering, asked the chipmunk what was the matter, the latter tells him that he was only chiding the bluejay (teen-dees), who had been stealing from his supper of nuts, whereupon the otter goes to sleep again.
- 10. Then N. approaches the "white lion" and shoots him, but not mortally. Severely wounded, and with a terrible roar, the monster, followed by the rest, plunges beneath the lake.
- II. N. returns home rejoicing. Some days afterwards, when walking in the forest, he meets an old woman (*min-de-moya*) with a load of fine basswood bark. He interrogates her; she suspects him, but he manages to calm her suspicions, and learns that in the village

- (odana) beneath the enchanted lake, the wounded "lion" still lives, and that she with another old woman wait upon him and sing around his couch a sacred song of lamentation. The basswood bark, she tells him, is to make a "telegraph" along the shores of the lake, so that the feet of any one coming would strike against the bark and give warning of his approach.
- 12. Having learned all he could, N. empties her skin of bones and flesh, and, diminishing his form, gets into it. Guided by the frog (o-muh-kuh-kee) he hastens to the wigwam of the "white lion."
- 13. The other old woman, suspecting something, asks many questions; to none of these does N. reply, but kills her, and enters the wigwam.
- 14. N., seeing the arrow still sticking in the side of his foe, seizes it with his teeth and drives it home to his heart.
- 15. He then proceeds to cook some of the flesh, when the alarm is sounded, and N. seeks refuge in flight, and, though closely pursued by the infuriated monsters, reaches the shore in safety.
- 16. Looking back he sees that the waters of the enchanted lake are rising and following him. He reaches the top of the highest mountain, but the flood still rises and bathes his feet and legs. N. then climbs the tall pine-tree, and still the waters rise. He invokes the pine-tree to stretch itself up higher, and promises that it shall be the tallest and stateliest of all trees. Three times does he invoke it and three times does it increase its height, then it stops, it can do no more. The flood keeps rising until it has reached the chin of N., on the top of the pine-tree. Then it ceases to rise.
- 17. Looking around him, he sees men and animals struggling in the flood, and calls the otter (ne-gik), the beaver (ah-mik), and the muskrat (wahg-hushk) to counsel with him. He tells them that they must try to dive to the bottom and bring up a little earth, so that the world may be rebuilt.
- 18. The "ambitious" otter tries first, but comes up dead. Then the beaver tries with like result. N. restores them both to life.
- 19. The muskrat dives, but rises up dead like the others. N., however, searches his paws, and finds a little clay. He brings the muskrat to life again and styles him "prince of divers."
- 20. N. rubs the clay between the palms of his hands until it is dry, and then throws it forth over the waters. It assumes the form of an island, on which N. and the animals and men are to land.
- 21. He soon sees that the island is too small, and sends out the bear to tramp down the soil so that it may expand and become wide. But the bear, though industrious, makes too many swamps and morasses, and N. recalls him, saying that bears may like swamps, but men and other animals want higher land.

- 22. Next the deer (wah-wah-shkash) is sent forth, and, bounding along, he soon creates hills and valleys, mountains and deep ravines. N. is not very well pleased with the steep declivities, and stops his labor.
- 23. He then bids the butterfly (ma-man-gwa) try. Taking on its wings grains of dry dust the insect flies swiftly over the waters and scatters them all around the island, so that meadows and prairies decked with flowers and bordered by trees are formed. N. is so pleased that he assigns to the butterfly the task of completing the work.
- 24. In order to find out the size of the island, N. sends out the pigeon (o-mee-mee), who fails to return.
- 25. Then the raven (kah-gahze) is dispatched. After days and weeks have elapsed, he perches upon the top of a pine-tree, just above the head of N., who reproaches him for his delay. The tired and emaciated bird explains that the earth is boundless, and N., in his joy, promises that the raven shall never lack for food. And the new earth is complete.

If we compare the versions of Mr. Hindley with those given above, we shall notice some very marked differences. We learn the origin of the principal characters: they descend from heaven and are born twin sons of a virgin mother; N. is the greater of the two, and becomes a very wise man; his brother disobeys and is lost; all nature is moved by his grief; the Great Spirit is introduced and frequently invoked; the brother is restored, but sent back to the other world by N., who afterwards repents; then N. goes to heaven on the invitation of the Great Spirit, where he is instructed in many things, which, returning to earth, he imparts a knowledge of to the Red Men. Then the "Deluge-legend" seems to be somewhat independent of this, for in the former the brother is restored by the intervention of the Great Spirit, while in the latter the brother disappears from the story very early and is not spoken of again. course of vengeance of N. is pretty much the same as in the legend recorded by Professor Ellis, but there are some very curious variants. N. sees something tossing on the waves (in the other case he sees the kingfisher looking into the water); his brother is killed by the "white lion;" the great serpent and the bear are specified as the animals who tried to pull up the stump; the incidents of the chipmunk as sentry, and the otter who is awakened by his chattering, are peculiar; it is an old woman, instead of a toad, that N. meets in his walk, and in lieu of changing himself into her form, he gets into her skin; the introduction of the basswood bark serves instead of the bag (in the other legend); here, curiously enough, the frog acts as guide; the manner in which N. killed the "white lion" is specified;

the cooking of the flesh does not occur in the other legends; the incident of the pine-tree stretching itself seems peculiar to this version; we are informed exactly how high the waters rose (up to N.'s chin); the raft is not mentioned, but it would appear that, by some means or other, certain men as well as animals survived; the new earth appears as an island, and the way the size is increased and the physical features formed does not appear in the other versions, nor do the incidents of the dispatch of the pigeon and the raven. Altogether this version of Mr. Hindley seems to vary very considerably from that of Dr. Ellis, even in what are perhaps essential points.

The next legend we shall examine is the "Legend of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan respecting the Great Flood of the World," as given by Mr. A. J. Blackbird, an Ottawa. In outline the story is thus:—

- I. Ne-naw-bo-zhoo is the first-born of the two sons of a maiden (who lives with her grandmother); she had premonitions of the characters of her sons, and is assured in a vision that they will redeem the world. N. was born just like any other child; the birth of his brother caused the mother's death. N. was reared by the grandmother, but the second child ran off into the wilderness and was never heard of again.
- 2. When N. became a man he was "a great prophet for his nephews" (as mankind are called), and an expert hunter. He learned from the grandmother that his brother was a monster with a body of flint and had caused his mother's death; in a rage he resolved to seek the monster and slay him, and set out with his huge war-club, and accompanied by a great black wolf (his hunting-dog). His club was so strong that by the mere motions of it the tallest trees were broken into pieces.
- 3. After many days hunting, N. got a glimpse of the monster, but had to chase him all over the world; from time to time he would get near enough to strike him with his club, but would only succeed in breaking off pieces of his flinty body. (This accounts for the heaps of flints found lying upon the earth in various places.)
- 4. Finally, on the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan, near the place now called Antrim City,² he killed him, and the flint rocks thereabouts are the carcass of the monster.
- 5. After this N. travelled all over the continent, sometimes in human, sometimes in animal shape.

After this somewhat independent introduction, the story proceeds:—

I. The "god of the deep" was jealous of N.'s wolf; so he killed

¹ Op. cit. pp. 72-78.

² See Journal of American Folk-Lore, iv. p. 11.

it, and made a great feast, to which sea-serpents, water-tigers, and every kind of monster of the deep were invited.

- 2. When N. heard of it he was very angry and set out to the shore (he knew the spot very well) where the monster and his friends were wont to disport themselves.
- 3. After stringing his bow and trimming his arrows, N. changed himself into a black stump near by. The other monsters wanted to go out and sport and asked the god to go with them, but he was suspicious and told them to examine the shore well first. They came back, reporting that they found nothing but an old black stump, which, however, they had not noticed before. He told them to go back and examine the stump carefully.
- 4. So one of the water-tigers climbed on the stump and tried it with his claws, but noticed nothing peculiar; then the sea-serpent coiled himself around it "so tight that N. nearly screamed with pain." Then the "sea-god" came forth, and soon all the monsters were dozing on the beach.
- 5. N. then "unmasked himself" and shot the "god of the deep" right through the heart.
- 6. N. then fled, pursued by the other monsters and by the waters, which rose mountains high. He ran all over the earth, and when he could no longer find any dry land, he "commanded a great canoe to be formed," into which he got with the animals who were fleeing with him, and was saved.
- 7. N., after the canoe floated off, wanted to find out how deep the water was. He ordered the beaver to dive down to the bottom, but he died before reaching it. N. then took him back into the canoe and made him alive again by blowing into his nostrils.
- 8. After a while he ordered the muskrat, but that animal, having seen the beaver come up lifeless, did not want to go. So N. flattered him and asked him to do it. The muskrat went down to the bottom, but died before reaching the surface again. As N. was taking him into the canoe in order to make him alive again he noticed a little bit of earth clasped in the animal's paws.
- 9. This he took, made into a small parcel and tied it to the neck of the raven.
- 10. Then N. told the raven to fly to and fro over the face of the waters, and soon they began to subside and the earth resumed its natural shape, "just as it was before."

In this legend we have two semi-independent branches, "N. and his brother," and the "Deluge." It differs from the other stories in that we get a glimpse of the contest between the good and the bad brother so frequent in certain other non-Algonkian peoples; this portion of the story has also a local coloring. The indirect cause of

the deluge is stated to be the killing of N.'s wolf by the "god of the deep;" it is the water-tiger and the sea-serpent who examine the stump; N. appears to kill the chief monster outright. It is worthy of remark that a canoe (not a raft) is "commanded to be formed;" only the beaver and the muskrat dive; the episode of the raven is quite peculiar.

Schoolcraft 1 has recorded a myth, which, in some particulars, is even more curious, for in it we can find explanations of some of the characters we have just passed in review. Briefly the story is as follows:—

- 1. Long ago a great manito visited the earth and made a maiden his wife.
- 2. Four sons were born at a birth, causing the death of the mother.
- 3. The first was Manabozho, the "friend of the human race;" the second was Chibiabos, who presides over the dead in the Land of Souls; the third was Wabassa, who, fleeing immediately to the north, was transformed into a rabbit, and became a great manito; the fourth was Chokanipok, the "flint man."
- 4. The death of the mother was attributed to Chokanipok, and a long and terrible war ensued between him and Manabozho. In one of the battles M. cut large pieces from the body of C., and these stones are the flints scattered over the earth which supply fire to men. Finally C. was killed by M., who tore out his bowels and changed them into trailing vines.
- 5. After this, M. travelled over the earth, dispensing various arts and inventions. He introduced among men lances and arrow-points, and implements of bone and stone; he also taught them how to make axes and snares and traps; he also killed the ancient monsters whose bones are now found under the earth, and cleared the streams of many of the obstructions placed there by the Evil Spirit.
- 6. He also placed four good spirits at the four cardinal points,² whither the calumet is turned before smoking in the sacred feasts. The spirit of the north gives snow and ice, so that men may pursue

1 "Of Nanibozho and the Introduction of Medical Magic." Archives of Aborig. Knowledge, vol. i. (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 317-319. Compare Emerson, Indian Myths, pp. 337-338.

² Rev. Allan Salt informs the writer that the Ojibways of the Rainy River region know these gods by the following names: God of the East, Wau-bau-no; God of the South, Shau-wun-da-se; God of the West, Kau-beau-no-kay; God of the North, Kau-poon-kay; and in honoring them by turning towards them the stem of the calumet, before commencing the business of a council-meeting, the order was first towards the sun, and then, in succession, towards the east, south, west, and north. Schoolcraft gives similar names for these gods, and they are said to be the sons of Kabeyan.

game; the spirit of the south gives melons, maize, and tobacco; the spirit of the west gives rain; and the spirit of the east gives light; the voice of the spirits is thunder.

7. Manabozho now lives on an immense piece of ice in the Northern Ocean. If he were driven off it to the earth, the latter would take fire from his footprints, for M. directs the sun in his daily walks about the earth.

In this legend the maiden has four sons, not two, as in the Ottawa legend, nor two (twins) as in Mr. Hindley's Otchipwē myths; the episode of the death of Chibiabos is not present; the fourth son, Chokanipok, corresponds to the bad brother whom Ne-naw-boozhoo kills in the Ottawa legend; the metamorphosis of the bowels into vines is paralleled by a Mississaga myth furnished to the writer by the Rev. Allan Salt. The conclusion of this version differs much from all the rest, especially as regards the retreat of Manabozho northward, though the taking refuge in the far north occurs in other legends.

The Abbé Petitot 1 has published two Cree legends of the Deluge. The first of these runs thus:—

- 1. In the beginning lived Wissakétchak, the old magician, who worked wonders.
- 2. A monster fish took a dislike to W., and, when he appeared on the sea in his canoe, the monster attacked him and tried to destroy him.
- 3. The great fish, by leaping about and striking the water with his tail, caused such huge waves that a general inundation ensued.
- 4. W. built a great raft, on which he placed a pair of all animals and birds, and so preserved his life and their own.
- 5. The great fish kept moving about, and soon even the tops of the highest mountains were covered, and there was no longer any land to be seen.
- 6. Then W. sent the diver-duck (pitwan) to the bottom to try to bring up some earth, but the water was so deep that the duck was drowned.
- 7. Then he sent the muskrat (muskwach), who, after being a long time under water, reappeared with his mouth full of earth.
- 8. W. took this earth, formed a little disc out of it, kneaded it, and strengthened it, and placed it on the water, where it floated. (It looked like those little round nests that the muskrats build on the ice.) The disc swelled, and took the shape of a little hill of mud.
- 9. W. blew upon it; and, as he blew, it swelled and increased in size. After the sun had hardened it, and it was quite solid, W.
 - ¹ Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest, Paris, 1886, pp. 472-476.

placed the animals upon it according as he found room for them. At last he landed himself on it, and took possession, and it is the earth on which we now live.

The second legend is, in general, the same as the first, except that the hero is called Wésakétchan; he embarks all his family, as well as a pair of all animals and birds; the muskrat is said to come up half dead; W. is said to place the disc of earth on the water "in the way that the muskrats make their nests."

Captain Back ¹ has recorded a myth of the Cree Indians of the region of Fort Cumberland as follows:—

- 1. Wœsack-ootchacht, a demi-god, has a quarrel with the fish, who tries to drown him.
- 2. W. makes a raft, on which he embarks with his family and all kinds of birds and beasts.
- 3. After some time, he sends several water-fowl to dive to the bottom; but they are all drowned.
- 4. Then the muskrat is sent, and returns with a mouthful of mud.
- 5. W., "imitating the mode in which muskrats build their houses," formed a new earth. First a little conical hill of mud appeared above the water, which, by continually extending its base, became an extensive bank, which, hardened by the sun, became dry land.

In these Cree myths the cause of the Deluge is the attempt of the great fish to destroy the hero-god. In an Ottawa legend Nenaw-bo-zhoo is swallowed by a great fish that dwelt in a certain lake, and the myth is widespread. Another peculiar thing is that, in two of the Cree versions, the hero-god takes his family on the raft with him. His imitation of the way muskrats make their houses is also to be noted.

Nanabush and Manabozho are often compared with Michoabo, the Great Hare, or the Great Dawn-God, as the name is diversely interpreted. An early record of a legend of the Canadian Indians was made by Nicolas Perot.² This very interesting myth may be summarized thus:—

- 1. Before the earth was created, there was nothing but water.
- 2. Over this floated a raft of wood, on which were animals of all species, and with them, the chief of all, the Great Hare. The latter looked for a place to disembark, but, seeing only swans and other water-fowl, perceived that his only hope lay in getting some animal to dive and bring up a bit of earth from the bottom.

¹ Op. cit. p. 562. Wœsack-ootchacht is said to be able to "converse with all kinds of beasts and birds in their own languages."

² Mémoire sur les mœurs, coustumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale, ed. Tailhan, Paris, 1864, pp. 3-5.

- 3. He asked the beaver to do this, telling him that from the little bit of mud he would make a new earth. The beaver tried to get out of it by saying that he had already dived around the raft, and had not been able to discover any bottom. The Great Hare finally induced him to plunge in. He remained under water a long time, and at length returned to the surface almost dead, and motionless. As it was impossible for him to climb upon the raft, the other animals drew him upon it, and, although they examined his paws, they discovered no mud.
- 4. Then they appealed to the otter, who, after some urging, dived and returned as the beaver had done.
- 5. Then the muskrat offered to dive, and the other animals, although they placed little hope on his efforts, as the beaver and the others, who were much stronger than he was, had failed, encouraged him, and promised that he should be "sovereign of all the earth" if he succeeded. The muskrat, who boasted that he would find bottom and bring some sand, dived boldly, and, after having been nearly twenty-four hours under the water, reappeared at the edge of the raft, belly upwards and motionless.
- 6. The other animals drew him upon the raft, and examined his paws, one after the other, and, when they came to the fourth, they discovered a little grain of sand between the claws.
- 7. This the Great Hare took and let it fall upon the raft, which increased in size. (He had boasted of being able to form a vast and spacious earth.) He took a part up again, and scattered it, which made the mass grow more and more.
- 8. When it was about the size of a mountain, he started to go round it, and, as he went round, the size increased. As soon as it seemed large enough, he ordered the fox to visit it, with power to enlarge it. The fox, having found that it was large enough for him to have his prey, returned and told the Great Hare that the earth was capable of containing and nourishing all the animals.
- 9. Then the Great Hare visited it, went round it, but found it imperfect. Since then he has never been willing to trust to any of the other animals, and still continues to augment it by going round the earth.
- 10. When the Indians hear noises in the hollows of the mountains, they know that the Great Hare is continuing his work, and they honor him as the god who created the earth.
- 11. They believe that the earth has been always borne upon this raft.

Perot adds: "This is what these people tell us of the creation of the earth. With regard to the sea and the firmament, they assert that they have existed from all time." In this legend we may notice in particular the following points as compared with the versions previously cited: the cosmogony (the earth is borne upon a raft); in the beginning there was only water and sky; the other animals act, not the Great Hare alone; the recovered grain of sand is let fall upon the raft, and the earth grows upon it; the fox, not the wolf, as in another version, circles the earth; the Great Hare still continues his work.

Another very early account of an Indian Deluge-legend is that of Zeisberger, who gives us the myth of the Delawares.¹ The principal points in this story are these:—

The whole earth was submerged; only a few survived, who took refuge on the back of a turtle, whose old shell was "mossy like the bank of a rivulet." The loon is asked to dive, but finds no bottom. It then flies away, and returns with a little earth in its bill. Guided by the loon, the turtle swims to the place, a spot of dry land is discovered, and the survivors settle and repeople the earth.

With the Delawares the turtle, who does not appear in the other legends noticed, becomes prominent. The loon appears in a myth previously referred to. On the whole the Delaware version of the Deluge myth would seem to vary very considerably from the general character of western Algonkian analogues.

- Dr. W. J. Hoffmann, in a valuable article on "The Mythology of the Menomoni Indians," in the "American Anthropologist" for July, 1890,² records many legends of this western Algonkian tribe which relate to the deeds and adventures of Manabush. The Menomoni version of the Deluge myth is very curious and very complicated. As the article in question is readily accessible, I shall only refer briefly to the principal characters and incidents:—
- I. Manabush and a twin brother were born the sons of the unmarried daughter of an old woman named Nokómis. His brother and his mother died. Nokómis wrapped M. in dry, soft grass, and placed a wooden bowl over him. After four days a noise proceeded from the bowl, and, upon removing it, she saw "a little white rabbit with quivering ears."
- 2. M. grew up and began to help his people, and taught them many useful things; taught them the use of plants for food, and the art of healing.
- 3. After recovering his brothers, and destroying the "great fish," and after accomplishing that which the Good Spirit had sent him down upon the earth to do, M. went far away and dwelt in a wigwam which he built on the northeast shore of a large lake.

¹ Heckewelder, Ind. Nations, p. 253; cited in Brinton, Lenâpé, and their Legends, p. 131.

² Pp. 243-258.

- 4. As a companion the "good manidos" gave him his twin brother (who was brought to life), who was called the "expert marksman." The brother, who was a manido, was able to assume the form of a wolf when he hunted for food, but possessed the form of a human being otherwise.
- 5. One day the wolf, tired by a long hunt, tried to cross the lake instead of going round it (as he had been admonished by M. always to do), and was seized and destroyed by "the bad manidos under the earth."
- 6. M. mourned for four days, and his sighs caused the earth to tremble, and caused the hills and ridges upon its surface.
- 7. The shade of the wolf appeared before M., who bade him follow the setting sun and become the ruler of the land of shadows.
- 8. M. then hid himself in a large rock near Mackinaw, where he was visited by the people for many years. When he did not wish to see them in his human form, he appeared to them as "a little white rabbit with trembling ears."
- 9. M. was desirous of destroying the "underground evil manidos" who had killed his brother, so he instituted the ball game, and asked the "Thunderers" to play against the evil manidos, saying that the game should afterwards belong to them. The site selected for the game was a large sandbar on a great lake near Mackinaw.
- 10. They came, and M. climbed a tree to observe the play. The game lasted all day without result, and at sunset each player returned to his wigwam.
- 11. At night M. descended from the tree, and, by his power as a manido, changed himself into "a pine-tree, cut off halfway between the ground and the top, with two strong branches reaching over the places upon which the bear chiefs lie down," and occupied a spot between the places where the bear chiefs had been.
- 12. The next morning, when the players returned, the bear chiefs and the other manidos noticed the tree, which they asserted was not there the day before, while the Thunderers said it was. After some discussion the two sets of players retired to their respective sides, and the game was temporarily postponed.
- 13. The bear chiefs thought that the tree was M., and sent for the grizzly bear to climb the tree, to tear the bark off, and scratch the throat and face of M. The bear tried, but to no purpose. Then the monster serpent was called upon, and wrapped its coils around the tree, and tightened them so much that M. was almost strangled. But it likewise gave up, and the manidos concluded that the tree was not M., and the bear chief lay down near the trunk.
 - 14. The game began again, and the ball was carried so far away

from the starting-point that the bear chiefs were left all alone. Then M. shot an arrow into the body of the "silvery-white bear chief," and another into that of the "gray bear chief," after which he assumed his human shape, and ran for the sand-bar.

- 15. The defeated manidos, however, soon pursued him. The waters poured out of the earth and pursued him, so that he was about to be overtaken, when he caught sight of the badger, who hid him in his burrow in the earth, and by burrowing deeper, and throwing the loose dirt behind him, kept back the waters.
- 16. The manidos gave up the pursuit, and, returning to the ball-ground, carried their wounded chiefs to a sick-lodge erected at a short distance from camp, where they are attended by a mitä.
- 17. In order to keep off Manabush they commenced to make a network of basswood strands around the entire lodge.
- 18. When Manabush came near he met an old woman, with a bundle of basswood bark on her arm. She suspected him, but he quieted her fears, and she told him all that had been done by the manidos, and that the network of bark was nearly complete. She told him also that she was the mitä who attended the wounded chiefs, and that no one else was allowed to enter the lodge.
- 19. Manabush struck the old woman and killed her. He then removed her skin, got into it, took the bundle of bark upon his back, and in this disguise made his way into the sick-lodge. Manabush then seized the arrow-shaft protruding from the side of the silvery-white bear chief, and killed him by thrusting it deeper into the wound. He did the same to the gray bear chief, after which he skinned the bodies, dressed the skins, and rolled them into a bundle.
- 20. When he reached the outside of the wigwam, as he left, he shook the network violently; he himself went out through the hole the old woman had left. Then the manidos pursued him, and the waters, coming up out of various parts of the earth, pursued him, too. He took refuge on the highest mountain, but, the waters still rising, he climbed to the top of a gigantic pine-tree on its summit. The waters continued to rise, and Manabush caused the tree to grow to twice its original height. Four times he repeated this, and the fourth time the waters rose to his armpits.
- 21. Then Manabush called to the Good Spirit for help. The latter caused the waters to cease their pursuit.
- 22. Then Manabush looked around him, and found only small animals struggling in the water. So he called to the otter, "Come and be my brother. Dive down into the water, and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The otter dived, but, after a long time, floated dead on the surface. Then he called the beaver in the same way, and the beaver dived with the like result. He

then called the mink, who met the same fate. Manabush looked around him, and could see only the muskrat, whom he called in the same way. The muskrat dived, and remained down a very long time, but at last floated, belly upwards, on the surface.

- 23. Manabush took the muskrat into his hands, and found in his paws a bit of earth. He then held the animal up, blew upon him, and restored him to life.
- 24. Manabush then rubbed the little bit of earth between the palms of his hands, and scattered it broadcast, when the new earth was formed and trees appeared.
- 25. Then Manabush thanked the muskrat, and told him his people should always be numerous, and have enough to eat wherever he should choose to live.
- 26. Then Manabush found the badger, to whom he gave the skin of the gray bear chief, which he wears to this day. The skin of the otter he retained for his own use.

This Menomoni version, obtained by Dr. Hoffman, is very detailed, and appears to be a very archaic form of the legend, with, however, a few local touches. The following points are specially noteworthy: The relation of Manabush and the rabbit; the restoration of his twin brother to life, and his power to assume the form of a wolf (this explains why, in one version, it is the brother of Manabozhu who is killed by the evil manidos, and, in another, the wolf, his hunting-dog); the hiding of Manabush in the rock; the introduction of the ball game (this assigns a good reason for the visit to the beach); the escape of Manabush by the aid of the badger, and the retreat of the waters; the pine-tree doubles its original height four times; the rising waters subside on Manabush's appeal to the Good Spirit; the mink is one of the divers, and only the muskrat is restored to life; the muskrat is thanked much in the same way as is the raven in one of the Otchipwe versions; there is no detail as to the configuration of the new earth, nor do the incidents of the bird and animal messengers occur.

In this comparative study of the Nanibozhu legend the writer has been desirous of showing within what limits the myth varies amongst the western and central Algonkian peoples. On another occasion he hopes to treat of the fragments of the same story which are to be found amongst the eastern Algonkian tribes, and with the legend as current amongst non-Algonkian aborigines of North America.

A. F. Chamberlain.